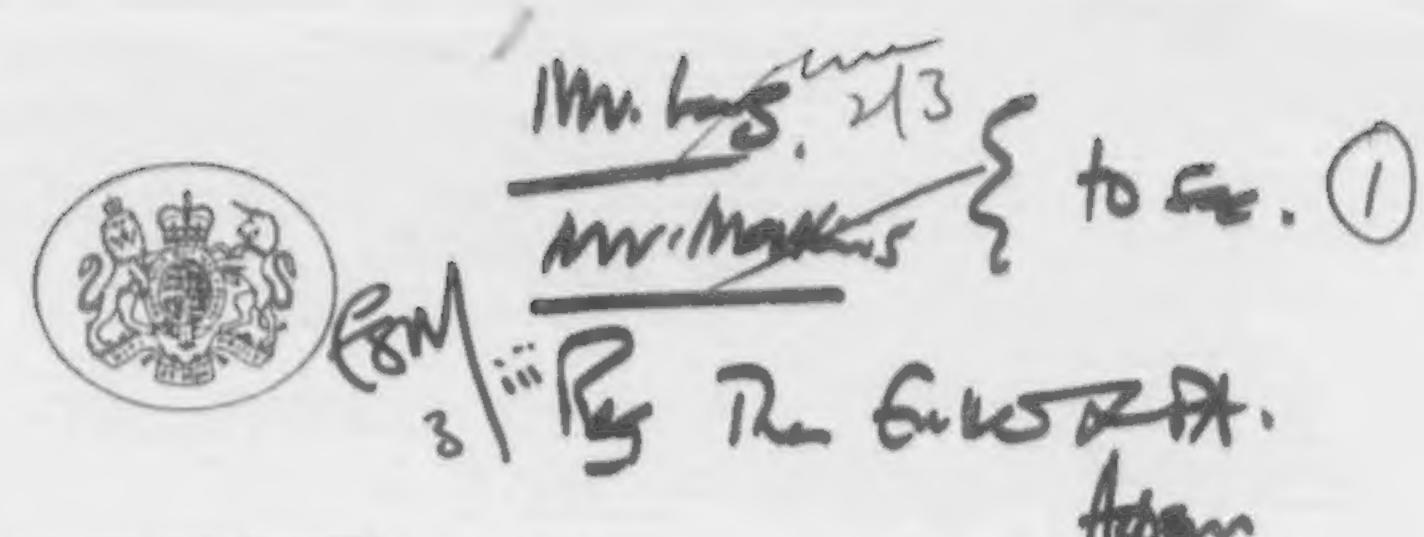
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UNCLASSIFIED

RECEIVED IN
LIGISTRY No. 10

BRITISH EMBASSY,

TEL AVIV.

24 February, 1970.

NE53/408/1

Israel/Jordan

Mr. Israel Galili, Minister without Portfolio, (with responsibilities for Information) was reported in the Government Press Bulletin as having said to the Tel Aviv Press Club on 20 February that, despite the Israelis disappointment with Jordan since the Six Day war, Israel had been acting with the utmost restraint. This was on the assumption that as long as Jordan existed in her own right, they should not despair of the possibility of a settlement.

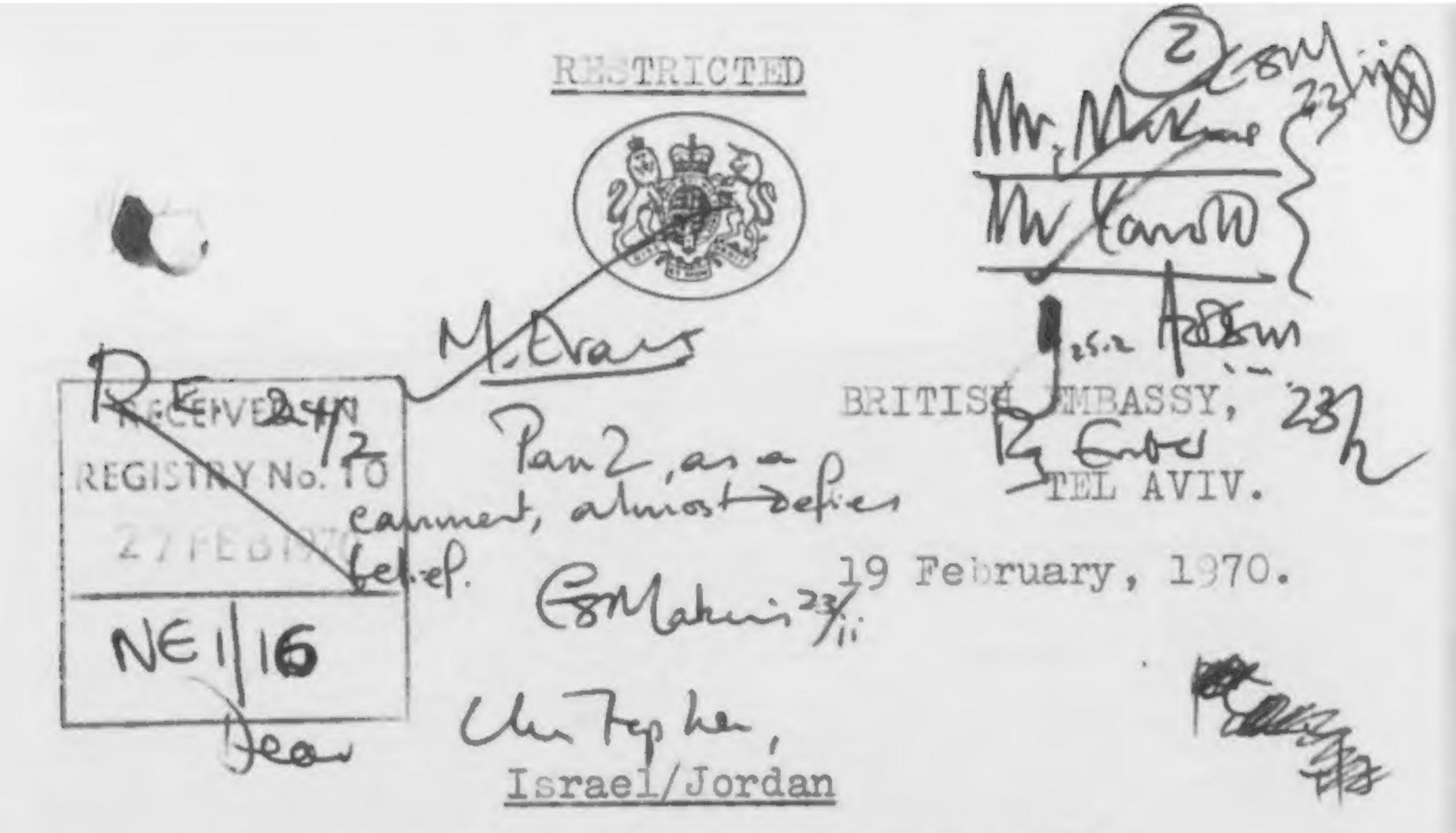
2. Mr. Galili stressed that Israel did not want to see the Hashemite Kingdom eliminated, but she could not remain neutral if foreign forces obtained power over Jordan with all that that implied. Jordan would then be liable to become a centre for political and military intrigue, and could serve as a stronghold for Moscow's efforts to increase Soviet power and strengthen Soviet status in the region.

- ever

(P. Gregory-Hood)

A.C.D.S. MacRae, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

cc: Chancery,



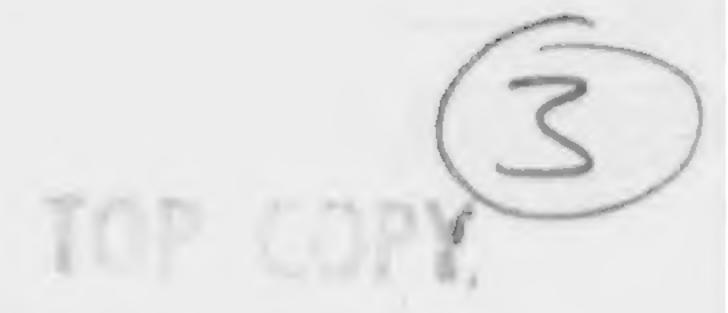
At a United Jewish Appeal fundraising dinner on 18 February in Tel Aviv the Minister of Transport said that there was a strong possibility. that Yasser Arafat would take over in Jordan from King Hussein. If this happened, the Israel army was ready to take whatever action was necessary.

2. Weizman also said "we must be suffering from psychosis to think that we have to give back territory." Weizman is, as you know, very hawkish and is not necessarily representative of Israeli thinking.

Varever Pele 2, 5 Hood. (P. Gregory-Hood)

A.C.D.S. MacRae, Esq., Near Eastern Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

> cc: Chancery, Amman.



REGISTRY No 10

UNCLASSI FIED

ADDRESSED TO MOD DI4 FOH 201100Z APRIL REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO MOD MO2, JIS(NE), JIS GULF, FCO, UKMIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON JERUSALEM, DA TEL AVIV, DA BEIRUT, DA CAIRO. RECEIVED IN

FROM DA AMMAN

JORDAN ARMY SPOKESMAN STATES:

- (A) AT 172000Z ISRAELIS OPENED FIRE WITH 81 MM MORTARS AND MEDIUM ARTY FROM THEIR POSITIONS ON MUSA ALAMI'S FARM ON TO JORDANIAN POSITIONS. JORDANIANS RETURNED FIRE AND EXCHANGE LASTED FOR TWENTY MINUTES. NO JORDANIAN CASUALTIES.
- (B) AT 181950Z I SRAELIS OPENED FIRE FROM 105 MM HOWS ON JORDANIAN FORCES IN THE AREA OF WAQQAS YB 4403. JORDANIAN FORCES RETURNED FIRE AND EXCHANGE LASTED FOR FIVE MINUTES. NO JORDANIAN CASUALTIES.
 - (C) AT 182045Z ISRAELIS SHELLED THE TEL AL SUKR AREA YA4197.

 JORDANIAM FORCES RETRURNED FIRE AND EXCHANGE LASTED FOR FIVE MINUTES. NO JORDANIAN CASUALTIES. ONE ISRAELI GUN POSITION WAS SILENCED.
 - (D) AT 190640Z ISRAELIS OPENED FIRE FROM MMG ON JORDANIAN FORCES IN THE AREA OF SUWEIMA YA 4519. JORDANIANS RETURNED FIRE AND EXCHANGE LASTED FOR TEN MINUTES. NO JORDANIAN CASUALTIES.
 - (E) AT 192120Z AN ISRAELI PATROL CROSSED THE CEASE-FIRE LINE IN THE SAFI AREA AND CLASHED WITH JORDANIAN FORCES FOR TWENTYFIVE MINUTES. ONE JORDANIAN SOLDIER WAS WOUNDED. FCO PASS PRIORITY TO NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON

SIR P ADAMS

ZREPEATED AS REQUESTED/ ZPASSED TO M.O.D./

FILES
N.E.D.
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ARABIAN DEPT.
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DEFENCE DEPT.
P.U.S.D.
NEWS DEPT.
DIS MOD

· HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA, CANADA HOUSE, LONDON, S.W.1.



HAUT-COMMISSARIAT DU CANADA, MAISON DU CANADA, LONDRES, S-O.1,

Mr Makins Confidential April 28, 1970.

um Berkett.

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10 - EMAY 1970

You may be interested in seeing the attached copy of Beirut's letter No. 178 of March 20 on Israeli Policy Toward Jordan.

> David M. Miller Counsellor

Mr. Chris Long, Near Eastern Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Downing Street (West), London S.W.1.

ec Chi Long. Dest-

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

4

The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa

FROM

The Canadian Embassy, BEIRUT

RÉFÉRÉNCE Référence

SUBJECT Sujet

Israeli Policy Toward Jordan

SECURITY Sécurité CONFIDENTIAL

Sécurité

DATE

March 20, 1970

NUMBER

178

OTTAWA DOSSIER
MISSION

Annexes

DISTRIBUTION

Recently a number of reports have indicated several Israeli spokesmen believe their country has a political interest in the maintenance of the Hashemite regime and in consequence has been behaving with some measure of restraint toward Jordan. On the basis of our visit to Jordan last week there is little evidence Israel follows a policy remotely resembling that implied by these sources.

- 2. From the perspective of this mission a definition of Israel's interest in Jordan would appear to be entirely dependent on the Israeli view of the future of the conflict. If a settlement is still feasible, Israel would seem to have a direct stake in the maintenance of Hussein. If, however, the Israelis believe that continued conflict is inevitable they would seem to have an equally clear interest in convincing the United States they are the Americans' only "friends" in the region. In this latter context the current Jordanian and Lebanese regimes might well appear to be obstacles to an entirely beneficial polarization.
- 3. Our own impression of the Israelis' behaviour is that their actions are determined almost exclusively by their self-defined security needs and that the political consequences of these acts are of little moment to them. We believe evidence can be adduced from an examination of Israel's apparent military policy toward Jordan.
- 4. It is evident that at least some of Israel's military activity east of the cease-fire line is aimed less at carrying the fight against the fedayin across the line than at punishing the Jordanians for not taking steps to control the infiltrators. This is not to say the latter type of operations is necessarily unjustified; we appreciate the weight of the argument that the Arab states cannot expect to be treated as inviolable because they are too weak to control the fedayin. Conversely, however, Israel can hardly claim to be solicitous of the well-being of Hussein when it attempts to force the Jordanians into a course of action which would almost certainly have severe internal repercussions. In the course of the past ten months the East Ghor canal has been broached three times. In each instance, the Israeli objective was clearly political and only indirectly military.

CONFIDENTIAL

- In addition, the Israeli definition of what constitutes a "military target" for their manifestly superior armed forces appears to be extremely flexible. A reliable source told us that for two weeks between December 15 and January 1 the Israelis used their long-range artillery to shell the city of Irbid almost daily. According to our source, who waxed indignant in recounting the event, the shelling was directly against the city itself. Although the people of Irbid were probably as pro-fedayin as other Jordanians there was no question of commando bases being hit; it was simply a terrorist act perhaps designed to weaken Hussein's position. He went on to indicate that the fedayin have no monopoly on indiscriminant mine laying; similar operations have been recently carried out in East Jordan by Israeli patrols. Similarly, instances of the slaughter of livestock by Israeli forces were not unknown. Our source indicated these acts may not have had official sanction. The Israeli forces however were no freer of thugs than the armies of other nations.
- 6. Moreover, although the Israelis have not, to our knowledge, mounted anything in Jordan similar to their "anti-Nasser campaign," they show no particular restraint concerning the methods employed in the operations they do carry out. Our informant told us he was astonished at how many people continued to believe the IAF does not use napalm. He indicated that at least in Jordan napalm had long served the Israelis as an ordinary instrument of war.
- 7. It might also be noted that the Israeli statement issued during the Jordanian/fedayin crisis in February is susceptible to several interpretations. It is possible that the statement had been designed to embarrass Hussein rather than to assist him.
- 8. In consequence, as seen from Amman, there is little to suggest that the Israelis attach any special importance to the maintenance of Hussein. If they do, they clearly do not let it interfere with their direct and indirect attempts to control the fedayin. All that can be seen from the Jordanian capital is the evidence of a dirty little war.

The Embassy.

CYPHER CAT A

TELEGRAM NO 538

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE 5 JUNE 1970

NE J3/408/1

Pan 8/6

SECRET

ADDRESSED TO FCO TEL NO 530 OF 5 JUNE 1970 *REPEATER.

FOR INFORMATION TO AMMAN, BEIRUT, CAIRO, MOSCOW, PARIS, UKMIS/ID IN
NEW YORK, WASHINGTON.

ISRAEL/JORDAN.

WHEN I SAW ISRAEL FOREIGN MINISTER YESTERDAY EVENING,
HE STARTED BY SAYING THAT, SHORTLY AFTER THE SHELLING OF
TIBERIAS ON JUNE3, KING HUSSEIN HAD APPROACHED THE ISRAELIS
THROUGH THE US EMBASSY TO SUGGEST THAT IF THE ISRAELIS WOULD
GIVE HIM A BREATHING SPACE WITHOUT RETALIATION HE WOULD TAKE
STRONG MEASURES AGAINST THE FEDAYEEN. ACCORDING TO MR EBAN
THE KING'S LANGUAGE ABOUT THE FEDAYEEN HAD BEEN EXTREMELY
STRONG. AFTER A SERIES OF EXCHANGES THE ISRAELIS HAD AGREED
TO GIVE HIM THE BREATHING SPACE HE WANTED.

- 2. IN OUR SUBSEQUENT TALK IT TRANSPIRED THAT THE KING'S UNDERTAKING AMOUNTED TO SAYING THAT, IF THE FEDAYEEN ESTABLISHED THEMSELVES IN POSITIONS FROM WHICH THEY COULD SHOOT KATYUSHAS AT EILAT, THE DEAD SEA WORKS OR BEIT SHEAN, THE JORDANIAN ARMY WOULD TAKE STEPS TO STOP THEM, INCLUDING FIRING ON THEM IF NECESSARY. MR EBAN IMPLIED THAT THERE WAS NO UNDERTAKING AS REGARDS FEDAYEEN ACTIVITIES ELSEWHERE, E.G. IN AMMAN.
- THAT THERE WAS A CYCLE OF VIOLENCE, WHICH MUST BE STOPPED SOMEWHERE. TIBERIAS HAD BEEN A RETALIATION FOR IRBID, BUT THAT IN TURN HAD BEEN A RETALIATION FOR BEIT SHEAN. THIS WAS A NEW CYCLE STARTED BY THE FEDAYEEN, AFTER A QUIET PERIOD. WHEN I ASKED ABOUT THE POSITION OF THE IRAQIS, MR EBAN AFFIRMED THAT ALTHOUGH IRAQI GUNS HAD FIRED ON TIBERIAS THIS HAD BEEN AT JORDANIAN WISHES.

Mr. EBAN

- WERE NO FURTHER ATTACKS THE BREATHING SPACE COULD BE PROLONGED INDEFINITELY. THE JORDANIAN MEASURES MIGHT NOT BE 180% EFFECTIVE AND THERE MIGHT BE THE OCCASIONAL KATYUSHA ROCKET FIRED. BUT THE IMPORTANT THING WAS TO SEE IF THE KING COULD MAKE HIS INTENTIONS EFFECTIVE.
- 5. IT WAS TRUE THAT THE KING HAD MADE SIMILAR PROTESTATIONS
 IN THE PAST ABOUT CONTROLLING THE FEDAYEEN, BUT MR EBAN THOUGHT
 THAT THE STRENGTH OF HIS LANGUAGE ON THIS OCCASION JUSTIFIED
 THE ISPAELIS IN GIVING HIM HIS BREATHING SPACE.
- STATESMANLIKE DECISION. I WAS SURE THAT YOU WOULD ALSO WELCOME IT AND HOPE THAT IT WOULD PROVE SUCCESSFUL IN STOPPING THE RISING CYCLE OF VIOLENCE WHICH WE ALL SO MUCH DEPLORED.

 MR EBAN MADE IT CLEAR THAT IF WE FELT ABLE TO DO ANYTHING TO HELP MAKE THE NEW ARRANGEMENT LAST, THIS WOULD BE WELCOME TO ISRAEL. HE ASKED THAT WE SHOULD TREAT THE INFORMATION HE HAD GIVEN ME AS VERY CONFIDENTIAL.
- 7. WE HAVE HAD A SIMILAR ACCOUNT IN STRICT CONFIDENCE FROM THE AMERICAN EMBASSY. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE SOME POINTS WHICH ARE STILL A BIT PUZZLING, THE IMPORTANT THING SEEMS TO BE THE END RESULT.

FCO PLEASE PASS IMMEDIATE TO PARIS, UKMIS NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON.
MR. BARNES

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

N.EASTERN D.
N.A.D.
ARAB.D.
ARAB.D.
MEMG D.
DEFENCE D.
P.U.S.D.
U.N.D.
P.S.
P.U.S.

P.S. 20 C.D.L.

P.S. TO MR. IMARD

MIR. H. MILAN

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SECRET



6

TELEGRAN "O SSS

TO FOREIGH AND COLMOLIVEALTH OFFICE 5 JULE 1978

SECRET

8/6

ADDRESSED TO FOO TELECOAM NO 225 DATED 5 JUNE RESERVED FOR INFORMATION PRIORITY TO TEL AVIV CALAO PARIS UKMIS WERECHALLO IN RECEIVED IN RECEIVED IN

TEL AVIV TELEGRAN NO 530: ISPAEL/JORDAN

SUCH UNDERTAKING, BECAUSE AS MY DA HAS BEEN REPORTING FOR THE PAST FEW WEEKS, THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THE JORDAN ARMY IS NOW PATROLLING RICHT FORWARD TO THE RIVER IN THE NORTH JORDAN VALLEY, I.E. IN THAT PART OF THE FRONT FACING ISRAEL PROPER. IT HAS IN FACT FEEN SUGGESTED THAT THE KING CAME TO AN INFORMAL AGREEMENT WITH ARAFAT THAT THE JORDAN ARMY WOULD GIVE THE FEDAYEEN FULL CO-CPERATION IN THE SOUTH JORDAN VALLEY IN RETURN FOR THEIR LAYING COFF CENSITIVE AREAS LIKE THE BEISAN VALLEY.

- 2. THIS, OF COURSE, IS AN EXTENSION OF THE KING'S POLICY
 OF FEELING THE FEBAVEEN ANNY FROM ALABA/EILAT AND FROM THE SODUM
 POTASH WORKS, FOR WHICH PURPOSE THE JORDAN ARMY OCCUPIED THE
 GHOR SAFI REGION A COUPLE OF MONTHS AGO.
- 3. AS I REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT, ISRAELI PEPRISALS HAVE SERVED SIMPLY TO STRENGTHEN SUPPORT FOR FEDAYEEN EXTREMISTS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE KING. FOR THIS REASON, AND FOR THE GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS GIVEN IN PARAS OF THE TEL AVIV TELEGRAM I WELCOME SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT, SUBJECT TO TWO POINTS:-

- HAVE CONTROL TO DAY FOR THE MEND. (AS INDICED MR CHAM SELES TO HAVE CONTROL TO DAY FOR THE FORT THE POSITION IN JOPPAN IS SUCH THAT SIMPLY MUST LET THE FEDAYEER BLOW OFF STEAM SOMEWHERE. CUPRENT JORDANIAN POLICY IS EXPLAINED IN MY DAYS FORTHCHTLY REPORT NO 12/70 control (COPY TO TRIPP IN TODAY'S BAG). MOREOVER, A LARGE PROPORTION OF THE JUNIOR RANKS, POSSIBLY A MAJORITY, ARE PALASTIMANS UND ARE DOUBTLESS RELECTANT TO SHOOT UP FEDAYEER WHO MAY WELL BE THEIR OWN RELATIVES. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE MORE CLOSELY THE ISRAELIS CAN DEFINE WHAT ARE THEIR "VITAL POINTS" THE MORE EASY WILL IT BE FOR THE JORDAN ARMY TO PATROL EFFECTIVELY THE AREAS WITHIN ROCKET RANGE OF THESE POINTS.
- (B) THAT THE ISPAELIS BEND THEIR MINDS URGENTLY TO DEVISING SOME MORE POSITIVE INDUCEMENT TO STRENGTHEN THE KING'S HAND RATHER THAN THE NEGATIVE ONE OF STEPPING DOWN THEIR ATTACKS ON JORDANIAN CIVILIANS.

FCO PASS PRIORITY TO PARIS UKKIS NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON

SIR P ADAMS

[REPEAULD AS RELUESPED]

FIRES:

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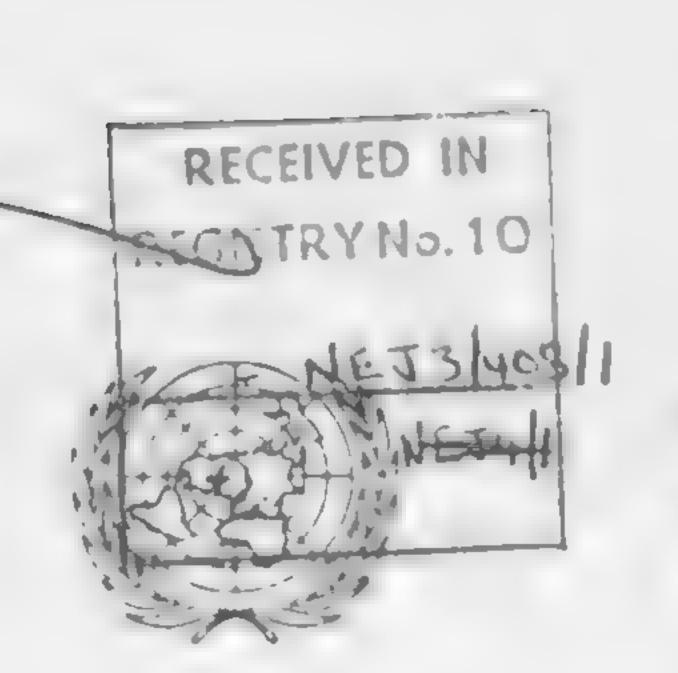
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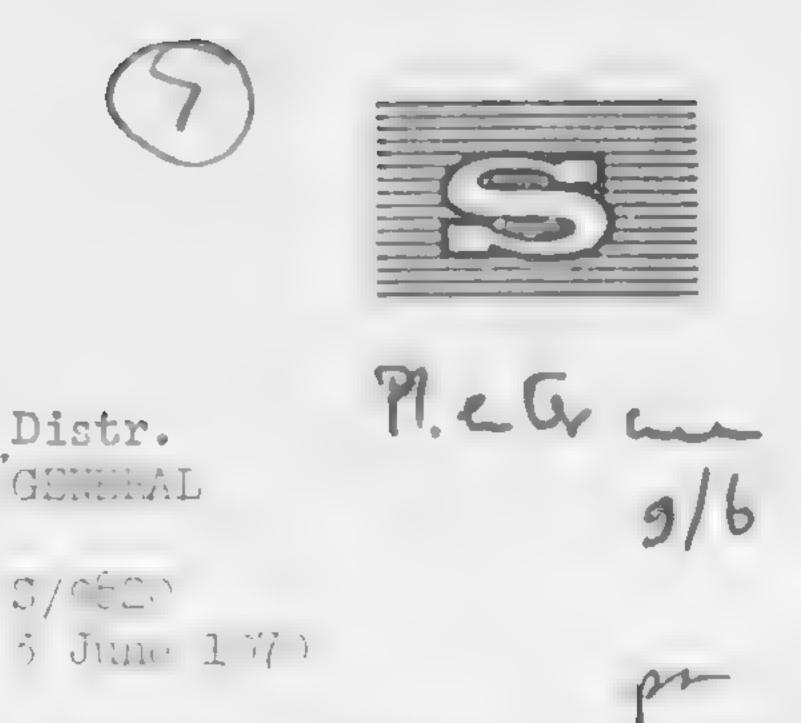
P.J.

P.J

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UNOTED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL





ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 3 JUNE 1970 FR M THE FERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE F J FLAR T THE UNITED NATION ADDRESSED TO THE FRESIDENT F THE SECURITY C UNCIL

Further to my letter of today concerning continued Israeli acts of aggression against Jordan villages and towns in the northern part of the country, I regret to bring to Your Excellency's attention the following:

At 14.55 hours local time Israeli bombers resumed the strafing and bombing of the villages of Um Qays, Beit Eides, Almansoura and the main road connecting the villages of Shuna-Shamaliyyah and Kureimah, using rockets and heavy bombs.

At 16.00 hours local time the Israeli occupying forces shelled the town of Irbid and its suburbs from the occupied Syrian hei ats, using heavy artillery. The Israeli shelling continued intermittently until 18.00 hours local time.

As a result of Israel's shelling and according to preliminary reports, seven civilians were killed and thirty-three others wounded, some of them seriously. Four civilian cars were destroyed and eight houses damaged. The Jordanian forces returned the shelling against the sources of the fire in Tiberias and other military positions in the area.

These acts of aggression, which left scores of innocent civilian victims, are but a new series of a ntinuing Israeli aggression perpetrated against Jordan and thus creating a grave situation increasing tension in the area and causing a serious threat to international peace and security.

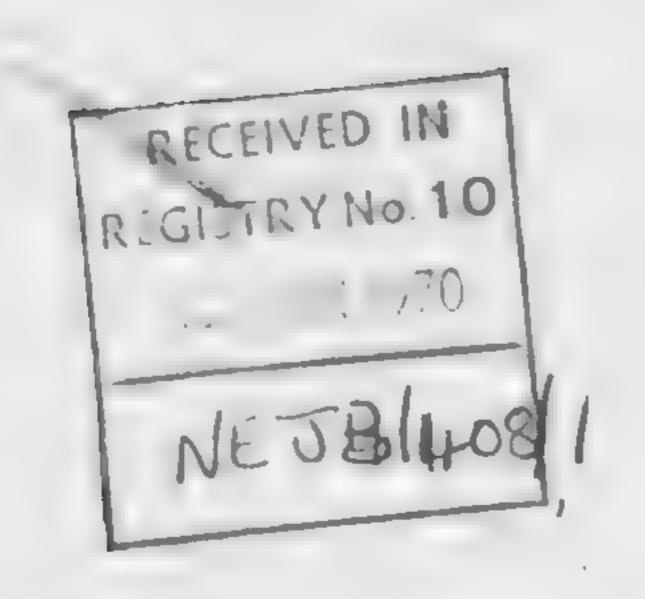
Israel and its leadership bears a heavy responsibility for such murderous and planned attacks against children, women and civilians. Israel is bent on escalating such a campaign of terror. It becomes a world moral duty and a collective responsibility to stop such campaigns and to bring a halt to continued Israeli aggression.

S/9820 English Page 2

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

Pleace accept, etc.

(Signed) Muhammad H. EL-FARRA Ambassador Permanent Representative



CYPHER/CAT A BECRET
FLASH FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
TELEGRAM NUMBER 291

TO TEL AVIV 12 JUNE 1970 Ph.

SECRET.

JORDAN SITUATION.

PLEASE TELEGRAPH BY 12 NOON 12 JUNE:

- (A) YOUR VIEW ON THE ISRAEL! ASSESSMENT OF AND REACTION TO PRESENT SITUATION IN JORDAN:
- (B) LIKELY ISRAELI REACTION TO A SITUATION IN WHICH JORDAN WAS ''CARVED UP'' BETWEEN IRAQ/SYRIA (AND POSSIBLY SAUDI ARABIA).

STEWART

F.C.O./WHI. DISTRIBUTION:
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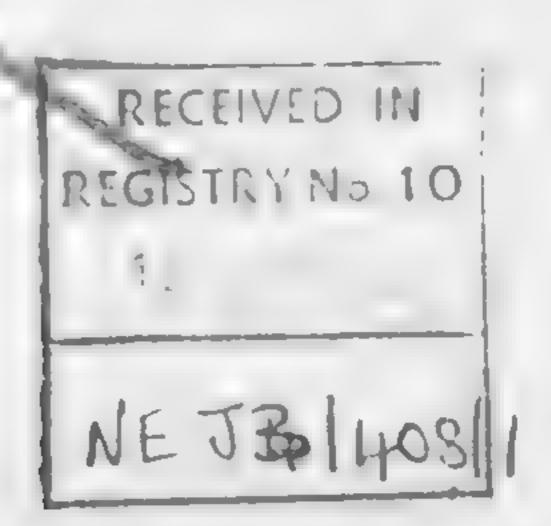
EGRAM NO 557

12 JUNE 1970

TIME FACTOR 1199 G.M.T.

CONFIDENTIAL

- YOUR TEL NO 291: JORDAN.



TO FOREIGN AND COMMONNEALTH OFFICE

OUR PRESENT INFORMATION SUGGESTS THAT THE ISRAELIS HAVE BEEN WATCHING THE SITUATION CLOSELY AND WE KNOW THAT THEY HAVE LET THE KING OF JORDAN KNOW THAT IF HE WALTS TO WITHDRAW FORCES, PARTICULARLY TARKS, FROM THE FROMT HE CAN NO SO WITH HABITY AS FAR AS THEY ARE CONCERNED. WE HAVE NO PEPORTS OF INCIDENTS ON THE JORDAN BORDER IN THE PAST DAY OR TWO. YESTERDAY, THE ISRAELIS WERE TAKING THE LINE THAT THE KING HAD THE STRENGTH TO WIN IF HE WANTED TO USE IT. BUT THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS CAST DOUBT ON THIS.

- THERE SEEM TO BE FOUR POSSIBLE OUTCOMES: 2.
- (A) THE KING FORCES A SHOWDOWN AND COMES OUT ON TOP
- (B) THE KING FALLS AND THE FEDAYEEN TAKE OVER
- (C) A COMPROMISE
- CHAOS.
- THE BASIC ISRAELI NEEDS SEEM TO BE THAT
- (1) THEY SHOULD HAVE A BORDER WHICH IS AS DEFENSIBLE AS POSSIBLE AND PRESENTS THE MINIMUM THREAT TO THEIR OWN POPULATION
- SUBJECT TO THESE POINTS, THEY SHOULD INCUR THE LEAST POSSIBLE INTERNATIONAL ODIUM AND ECCNOMISE WHERE THEY CAN IN MANPOWER AND RESOURCES.
- (111) THEY SHOULD IF POSSIBLE HAVE SOME (FOLLOWING TWO WORDS UNDERLINED) INTERLOCUTEUR VALABLE ON THE OTHER SIDE, WITH WHOM THEY CAN DEAL, IF ONLY ON THE SAME SHAKY BASIS AS IN THE PAST.

CONFIDENTIAL -

- GACKING HIS COLUMBERS (ARMAN TELCOPAR NO CC1) THE RING ALBEADY SEEMS TO BE MANDEUVRING FOR A COMPROMISE. BUT IF THIS WERE A FEINT AND HE DID WIN IN THE END, THE ISRAELIS WOULD PROBABLE ACCEPT THIS AS THE BEST ANSWER AND THINGS WOULD GO ON MUCH.

 AS BEFORE.
- IF THERE WERE A COMPROMISE ALL WOULD DEPEND ON ITS NATURE.

 IF IT SAVED THE KING'S FACE, PRESUMABLY WE SHOULD LUPCH ON

 TO THE NEXT CRISIS, WITH THE ISRAELIS TRYING TO CAJOLE AND

 THREATEN THE KING INTO RE-ESTABLISHING HIS AUTHORITY. BUT

 IF THE COMPROMISE AUGUSTED TO GIVING THE FEDAYEEN A FREE HAND

 ON THE BORDERS OR PARTS OF THEM, THE ISRAELIS MIGHT WELL STEP

 UP MILITARY, ACTIVITY AGAINST THE AREAS CONCERNED.
- GROUND EAST OF THE RIVER JORDAN, FROM WHICH MOST OF THE ROCKET ATTACKS COME, AND HOLD IT AT LEAST TEMPORARILY. THE MOST IMPORTANT GROUND IN THIS CONTEXT IS OF COURSE THAT FACING THE RIBBUTZIN IN THE BEIT SHOWN VALLEY. BECAUSE THIS WOULD STOTTCH THEIR RESCURCES AND MEAN GIVING UP THE PRESENT FRONTIER BASED ON A CLEAR NATURAL FEATURE, AND BECAUSE IT WOULD CAUSE AN INTERNATIONAL RUMPUS, THEY MOULD ONLY BE LIKELY TO DO BY IF IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE THREAT WOULD OTHERWISE BE UNACCEPTABLY INCORASED BY A BREAKDOWN IN CONTROL OVER THE FEDAYEEN'S ACTIVITIES. AT THE SAME TIME, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF STABILITY, THIS MIGHT BE NO BAD THING, AT ANY RATE FOR THE TIME BEING.
- 7. IF (B) HAPPENED, THE CHOICES WOULD SE HARDER AND THE PRESSURES FOR ACTION STRUGER. AGAIN MUCH DEPENDS ON THE NATURE OF THE NEW POWER STRUCTURE IN JORDAN. ALTHOUGH 'N THE LONG RUN THE ISRAELIS MIGHT BE WISE TO ACCEPT AN ARAFAT REGIME, AND A PALESTIMIAN ENTITY, THEY MAY NOT ALL SEE IT THIS WAY. NOR PRESUMABLY CAN ANYTHING AS TIDY AS AN ARAFAT REGIME BE ASSUMED. THERE MAY BE VOICES RAISED HERE FOR THE SEAZURE OF AMMAN, BUT THIS WOULD BE A MAJOR OPERATION, MILITARILY AND POLITICALLY, AND SEEMS UNLIKELY, AS IT WOULD NOT SERVE THEIR NEEDS AS SET OUT IN PARAGRAPH 3 ABOVE. IN THE CASE OF (B), HOWEVER, THE TEMPTATION TO SEIZE THE HIGH GROUND WOULD BE STRONGER.
- THE ISPAELIS WOULD CERTAINLY MUCH DISLIKE AN ACCRETION OF INTHER IRAQI OR SYRIAN STRENGTH ON THEIR EURDERS.

CONFIDENTIAL TEL AVIV TEL NO.557 TO F.C.O. - 3 -

IT CLEAR WHAT MASSER MEANS BY SAYING THAT EGYPT CARMOT STAND IBLY BY, WHILE THE FASTERN COMMAND LPEAKS UP. THEY MIGHT WELL CONSIDER TRYING TO WARN THE SYRIAMS OFF, E.G. BY THREATS AGAINST DAMASCUS, BUT IT IS HARDER TO SEE WHAT CREDIBLE THREAT COULD BE MADE AGAINST IMAG OR SAUDI ARABIA, AND INDEED THEY MIGHT BE LESS HOSTILE TO SAUDI PARTICIPATION. IF IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THERE WAS TO BE A CARVE-UP BY MOSTILE REGIMES, THEIR SECURITY MIGHT WELL REQUIRE THEM TO MOVE FORWARD. THIS AGAIN WOULD PRIMARILY INVOLVE THE HIGH GROUND THREAT—ENING ISRAELL TERRITORY AND SETTLEMENTS AND I DOUBT IF THEY WOULD MANT TO UNDITCHE CLY VIDER COULD STRAIN THEIR MAMPOWER RESOURCES.

- 9. A BIG QUESTION WOULD BE THE GUISIAN ATTITUDE. IF THE RUSSIANS GAVE MORE VISITLE SUPPORT TO A FEDAVELS PEGIME OR TO A TAMEOVER BY OTHER ARABS, THIS SHOULD INDUCE CAUTION IN THE ISRAELIS. BUT HERE AGAIN THEY MIGHT THINK SOME LIMITED PRE-EMPTIVE ACTION DESIRABLE.
- AS YOU SEE, THIS IS LASCELY GUESSWORK AND THE IMPONDED ABLES ARE ALMOST INFINITE. I AM GOING TO JERUSALEM THIS MORNING AND WILL TELECRAPH AGAIN IF BY TALKS THERE THROW ANY FURTHER LICHT.
- 11. MAY I LEAVE IT TO YOU TO REPEAT IF NECESSARY ?

MR. BARNES

FCO/WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION
N.E.D.
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COPY TO:

MR. A.S. FAIR, ODM, ELAND HOUSE MR. J. ASHWOOD, CRED

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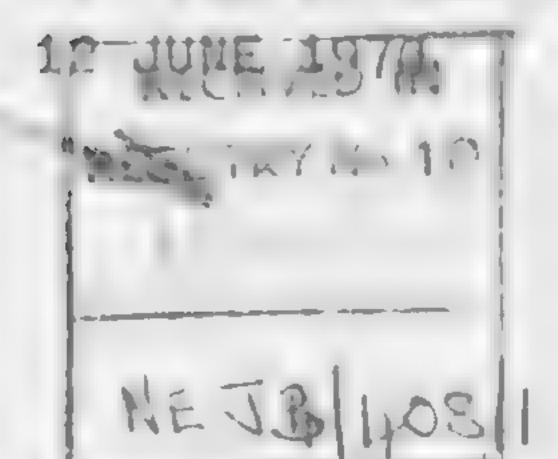
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Fill.R/C.C.A

IMMEDIATE TEL AVIV

CONFIDENTIAL.

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONNEALTH OFFICE



Pan-

F MY TELEGRAM NO 557: JORDAN.

I CALLED ON LOURIE AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY THIS MORNING. BY THE TIME WE ARRIVED HE HAD HEARD THAT THE HOSTAGES HAD BEEN RELEASED AND WAS TAKING THE LINE THAT THE KING, THOUGH BATTERED, HAD PRESERVED HIS POSITION BY A COMPROMISE, AND IT REMAINED TO BE SEEN WHAT THE GUTCOME WOULD BE. IF IT MEANT, AS IT WELL MIGHT, THAT THE FEDAYEEN WOULD RENEW THEIR ATTACKS ON ISRAEL TERRITORY, THIS WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE A SERIOUS MATTER FOR ISRAEL, WHO WOULD BE BOUND TO REACT, BUT HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO SAY WHAT SHE WOULD DO ABOUT IT. HE AGREED THAT FROM THE ISRAELI POINT OF VIEW IT WAS BETTER THAT THE KING SHOULD REMAIN, ALTHOUGH HE POINTED OUT THAT SOME PEOPLE HERE WERE SAYING THAT THIS WAS NOT IMPORTANT AND THAT IF THE FEDAYEEN TOOK OVER THE SITUATION WOULD BE CLARIFIED, NOT SO MUCH FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF HAVING SOMEONE TO DEAL WITH, AS BECAUSE THE ISRAELIS WOULD KNOW THAT THEY WERE FACING A HOSTILE REGIME IN CONTROL OF THE WHOLE OF JORDAN. .

- 2. IN THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES HE DID NOT EXPECT OTHER ARAB STATES TO INTERVENE, ALTHOUGH HE AGREED THAT THE ARRIVAL OF SYRIA AND IRAQ ON ISRAEL'S BORDERS WOULD BE THE WORST POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENT. HE ALSO SAID THAT HE HAD NO INFORMATION OF THE RUSSIANS HAVING PLAYED ANY PART IN JORDAN AFFAIRS OF LATE, OTHER THAN TO OFFER ARMS.
- 3. LOURIE SAID THAT MRS MEIR HAD GIVEN INSTRUCTIONS THAT NO PUBLIC COMMENT WAS TO BE MADE, AND THE NEWSPAPERS HAD INDEED CARRIED VERY LITTLE. IT SEEMS THAT WHEN GENERAL WEIZMAN STARTED TO COMMENT ON TELEVISION LAST NIGHT HE WAS FADED OUT. LOURIE ALSO SAID THAT THE ESRAELIS WERE EXERCISING RESTRAINT IN ACTION AS WELL AS IN SPEECH.
- 4. DESPITE THIS BLAND AND RATHER UNCOMMUNICATIVE RESPONSE, I HAVE THE IMPRESSION, FROM WHAT WE HAVE HEARD OF ONE OR TWO PEOPLE'S MOVEMENTS, THAT SOME CONTINCENCY PLANNING MAY HE

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- 2 -

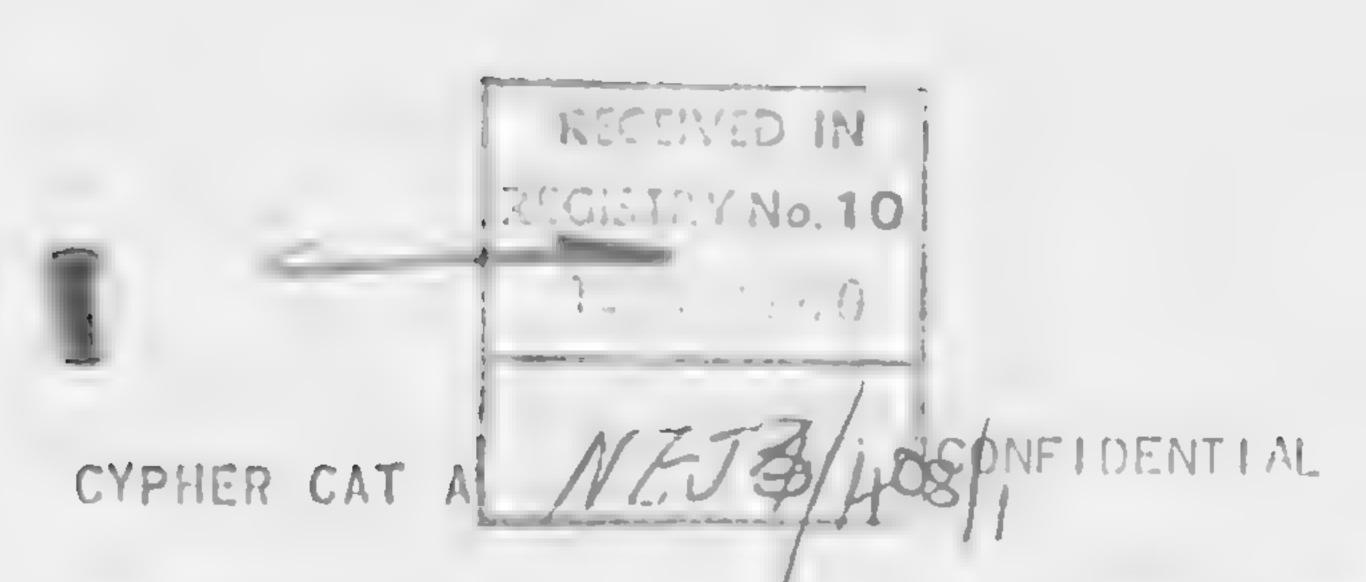
COING ON, AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE COPPROMISE DOES NOT HOLD. IN THIS CONNEXION THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE HAVE TOLD THE MILITARY ATTACHE THAT THEY REGARD THE DENGUEMENT AS TOTAL CAPITULATION BY THE KING, AND HIS SACRIFICE OF THE TWO COMMANDERS HAS OBVIOUSLY WEAKENED THEIR EARLIER BELIEF THAT HE COULD WIN A SHOWDOWN IF HE WISHED. THEY ALSO POINTED OUT THAT ON THE FEDAYEEN SIDE HAPPASH HAS BEEN MAKING ALL THE FUTNING AT THE EXPENSE OF ARAFAT WHO, AS LOURIE ALSO SAID TO ME, HAD WANTED TO CALM THINGS DOWN.

MR. BARNES

PERSONNEL SERVICES DEFT.

COPIES TO:
MR. A.S. FAIR, O.D.M., ELAND HOUSE.
MR. J. ASHWCCD, C.R.E.D., B.O.T.

CCHPIDIMETAL



ROUTINE TEL AVIV TELEGRAM NO 562

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE 12 JUNE 1970

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELEGRAM NO 562 OF 12 JUNE 1970 REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO AMMAN, CAIRO AND WASHINGTON.

YOUR TELEGRAM NO 289.

SINCE IT WAS EVIDENT FROM BY CONVERSATION WITH LOURIE THIS MORNING (MY TELEGRAM NO 560 NOT TO ALL) AND INDEED FROM ISRAELI ACTIONS THAT THEY HAVE THE POINT VERY MUCH IN HIND, I HAVE NOT ACTED ON THE DISCRETION GIVEN ME, ALTHOUGH IT WILL HAVE BEEN CLEAR TO LOURIE THAT WE WELCOMED THE RESTRAINT WHICH WAS BEING SHOWN.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO WASHINGTON (ROUTINE).

MR. BARNES.

_REPEATED AS REQUESTED/

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

N.E.D. N.A.D. ARABIAN DEPT.

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THE DIATE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE TELEGRAM NUMBER 289

TO TEL AVIV 11 JUNE 1970 (NED)

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDRESSED TO TEL AVIV TELEGRAM NO 239 OF 11 JUNE REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO AMMAN, CAIRO, WASHINGTON.

NEJ114

(WHICH WE ARE REPEATING TO WASHINGTON). AMMAN TELEGRAM NUMBER 243 JORDAN INTERNAL SITUATION.

YOU HAVE DISCRETION TO TELL THE ISRAELIS THAT WE HOPE THAT, IN HIS PRESENT VERY DIFFICULT SITUATION, KING HUSSEIN CAN RELY ON THE ISRAELIS TAKING NO ACTION WHICH COULD CONTRIBUTE TO HIS DIFFICULTIES DURING THE PRESENT CRISIS.

2. HM EMBASSY AT WASHINGTON SHOULD INFORM THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF ANY ACTION YOU DECIDE TO TAKE.

STEWART

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RECEIVED IN 12301 1570 NEJ BILLEY!

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CLAIR
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TO F.C.O.

13 NOVEMBER 1975

L'ICLASOIFIEG.

1310.52

ADERESSED TO FOO TELEGRAM NO 939 DATED 18 MOVEMBER 1978 REPEATED
FOR IMPORMATION TO BEHRUT CAIRD TEL AVIV MASHIMSTON PARIS NOSCONTUKNIS NEV YORK.

JORDAN-I SRAEL.

かんりい

JORDAN NEWS AGENCY YESTERDAY CARRIED A STATEMENT BY KING
HUGGER ON GEGET TORDATS THAT LOCATE WAS READY TO NEUTRALE WITH
JORDAN THROUGH BR. JARRING WITHOUT THE U.A.R.
HE SAID THAT ANY TALKS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 242
HUGT TAKE PLACE UNDER U.N. AUTPICES, AND HUST BE "BETWEEN THE
TWO PARTIES ONLY VIS. THE ARAR PARTY AS A WHOLE AND THE OTHER PARTY"
PRACE RECURDED LEARNEL ACCEPTABLE OF THE REMOVERS BY
THE PALESTIMAN ARAB PROPLE OF THE FULL RIGHTS IN ITS HUGGERD.

2. IN A SEPARATE JUA STATEMENT, AN OFFICIAL SPOKESHAN IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT A RECENT REPORT IN TIME MAGAZINE THAT MEETINGS HAD TYCEN PLACE DETUEEN KING PUSCERN AND CERTAIN ISSAELE OFFICIALS WAS COMPLETELY WITHOUT FOUNDATION.

SEE M. I.F.T.

FCO PASS ROUTINE TO WASHINGTON PARIS AND NEW YORK

MR PHILLIPS

[REFERRED AS REQUESTED]

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ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION: ARAB/ISRAEL DESTUTE.

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PRIORITY AMMAN
TELEGRAM NO 910

TO F.C.O.

18 NOVEMBER 1979

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NDRESSED TO FCO TELEGRAM NO 916 DATED 18 NOVEMBER 1970 REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO TEL AVIV BEIRUT CAIRO WASHINGTON PARIS MOSCOV AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

M.I.P.T.

JORDAN-I SRAEL.

19/11

IT WOULD BE INTERESTING TO KNOW WHETHER ISRAEL IS GIVING CURR-ENCY TO ALLEGATIONS OF SECRET MEETINGS WITH THE JORDANIANS.

- 2. SHE HAS OF COURCE MADE PUBLIC ALLEGATIONS OF THIS SORT FROM TIME TO TIME IN THE PAST, BUT THESE HAVE GIVEN THE IMPRESSION HERE OF BEING PROPAGANDA EXERCISES WITH ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING OBJECTIVES:-
- (A) TO LEND SUPPORT TO THE ASSERTION THAT ISRAEL COULD COME TO TERMS WITH HER NEIGHBOURS IF ONLY THE BIG FOUR DID NOT INTERFERE
- (B) TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN JORDAN AND THE U.A.R.
- (C) TO SCARE KING HUSSEIN OFF FROM TAKING ANY SUCH INITIATIVE.
- BELIEVE HE IS WILLING TO TAKE SOUNDINGS WITH THE ISRAELIS, OUR GUESS IS THAT SUCH SOUNDINGS WOULD ONLY COME OFF IF THEIR SECRECY WERE GUARANTEED, AT ANY RATE UNTIL THEY LOOKED LIKE BEING SUCCESSFUL. KING HUSSEIN WOULD CERTAINLY NOT RISK FURTHER ALIENATING THE U.A.R. AND INCURRING AN APPEASER'S ODIUM, IF AT THE END OF THE DAY, ISRAELI TERMS WERE QUITE UNACCEPTABLE. CERTAINLY, IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT HE SHOULD DENY ANY INTENTION OF GOING IT ALONE UNDER JARRING'S PUBLIC AUSPICES.

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- 2 -

MAS NO MORE THAN A RIPOSTE TO THE WAR JIBE IN THE UN THAT HAD ISRAEL BEEN GENUINE IN HER ACCEPTANCE OF THE ROCERS PLAN, SHE WILLD AT LEAST DE NEGOTIATING THROUGH JARRING WITH JORDAM.

UNDEED, THE AMERICANS MAY HAVE BEEN PRODDING HER THEMSELVES ON VASSE LINES.

FCO PAGS ROUTINE TO WASHINGTON PARIS AND UKMIS NEW YORK

MR PHILLIPS

[REFERRED AS RINGUESTED].

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ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION: ARAB/ISRAFL DISFUTE.

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CYPHER CAT "A"

MMEDIATE TEL AVIV

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1050

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE 19 NOVEMBER 1970

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ADDRESSED FCO TEL NO 1050 OF 19 NOVEMBER RPTD FOR INFO TO AMMAN, BEIRUT, CAIRO, UK MIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, PARIS AND MOSCOW. 20/5

YOUR TELEGRAM NO 536: | SRAEL/JORDAN MEETINGS

NEJ 3/409/

AS YOU KNOW THIS FIRST CAME TO LIGHT WITH TIME MAGAZINE FOR NOVEMBER 23, AND THE STORY BROKE HERE ON NOVEMBER 16.

- 2. IT THEN BECAME KNOWN THAT A QUESTION PUT DOWN IN THE KNESSET LAST WEEK HAD BEEN EXPUNGED FROM THE RECORD. PRESS CORRESPONDENTS HAVE TOLD US THAT THE CENSORS WERE BUSY AND THE STORY COULD ONLY BE TOLD HERE WHEN IT COULD BE REPRODUCED FROM REPORTS ABROAD.
- 3. AS FAR AS THE FACTS GO, WE HAVE ALWAYS ASSUMED THAT
 SECRET MEETINGS BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE KING OF JORDAN
 HAVE BEEN TAKING PLACE FROM TIME TO TIME. I HAVE HEARD MR.
 EBAN, WHEN ASKED ABOUT THEM, START BY SAYING THAT HE DENIED
 THEIR EXISTENCE AND THEN GO ON IN EFFECT TO DISCUSS THEIR
 SUBSTANCE. IN THE PAST WE HAVE HEARD STORIES OF MEETINGS IN
 LONDON, GENEVA AND AQABA. IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO SECURE SPECIFIC
 CORROBORATION, ALTHOUGH WE SHALL TRY TO DO SO, THAT A MEETING
 TOOK PLACE THREE WEEKS OR SO AGO BETWEEN ALLON AND THE
 KING IN THE ARAVA, OR OF WHAT PASSED BETWEEN THEM. ALLON'S
 OFFICE DENIED ON NOVEMBER 16 THAT THERE WAS ANY TRUTH IN
 THE PRESS REPORTS.
- 4. THE STORIES HAVE NATURALLY CAUSED A FLURRY IN THE PRESS, WITH ACCOUNTS OF ALLON ARRIVING BY AIR AND DRIVING FOR A MEETING IN AN AIR CONDITIONED CAR, PARTICIPANTS

/SPEAKING

-2-

SPEAKING ARABIC AND ENGLISH AND WEARING DARK GLASSES AND FANCHHATS AND TROOPS IN THE AREA BEING ALERTED. I HAVE NO IDEA:
WHAT TRUTH THERE IS IN THESE APPARENTLY CIRCUMSTANTIAL DETAILS.
IT IS ALSO SAID THAT DAYAN REFUSED TO ATTEND THE MEETINGS BECAUSE HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT ANY GOOD WOULD COME OF THEM.

- DENIAL, THE GOVERNMENT HAVE SAID NOTHING, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE HEARD FROM A PRESS AGENCY THAT EBAN IS REPORTED TO HAVE ADMITTED, AT A PRIVATE OCCASION IN AMERICA THIS WEEK, THAT MEETINGS TOOK PLACE BETWEEN ALLON AND THE KING AND THAT BOTH SIDES AGREED TO DENY THEM. THIS IS SAID TO HAVE CAUSED A ROW IN GOVERNMENT CIRCLES HERE, AND IN GENERAL THE OFFICIAL LINE SEEMS TO BE TO SAY NOTHING. INDEED, WITH REFERENCE TO AMMAN TELEGRAM NO 910, IT CANNOT BE SAID THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE GIVING CURRENCY TO THE REPORTS AND IN MY VIEW IT IS TOO EARLY TO ATTRIBUTE MOTIVES BEFORE WE KNOW MORE ABOUT THE FACTS.
- 6. EVEN IF THERE HAS BEEN A RECENT MEETING, IT DOES NOT NECESSARILY ASSUME THE PROPORTION OF A SEPARATE NEGOTIATION WITH JORDAN IN THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE PRESENT TIME.

 IT SEEMS MORE LIKELY TO HAVE BEEN ONE OF A CONTINUING SERIES.

 NEVERTHELESS THERE ARE A NUMBER OF PEOPLE HERE WHO ARE

 TOYING WITH THE IDEA OF A SEPARATE NEGOTIATION, AND ALLON,
 AS APPEARED FROM HIS TALK WITH MR. GODBER, IS ONE OF THEM.

 OTHERS, INCLUDING THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE, SEEM SCEPTICAL

 WHETHER THE KING OF JORDAN COULD STEP OUT OF THE ARAB LINE.

 TIME MAGAZINE MAY THEREFORE BE RIGHT IN PUTTING THIS AT LEAST

 PARTLY IN AN INTERNAL POLITICAL CONTEXT, WITH DAYAN TRYING
 TO EXTRACT KUDOS FROM A DEAL WITH EGYPT AND ALLON AND OTHERS

 TRYING TO OFFSET THIS BY SETTING SOMETHING IN TRAIN WITH

 JORDAN.

F.C.O. PLEASE PASS UK MIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON AND PARIS.

MR. BARNES

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

FILES:

N.E.D.

NEWS D.

P.S. TO MR. GODBER

SIR P. ADAMS

SIR W. LUCE

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INNEDIATE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
TELEGRAM NUMBER 536

TO TEL AVIV

18 NOVEMBER 1979 (III)



RESTRICTED. 181625Z.

ADDRESSED TO TEL AVIV TELEGRAM NUMBER 536 OF 18 NOVEMBER AND TO AMMAN REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO WASHINGTON, PARIS, MOSCOW, UKMIS NEW YORK, BEIRUT AND CAIRO.

MEETING(S) BETWEEN ALLON AND KING HUSSEIN.

YOU WILL HAVE SEEN PRESS REPORTS ALLEGING THAT ONE OR MORE MEETINGS HAVE RECENTLY TAKEN PLACE.

2. AT QUESTION TIME ON 16 NOVEMBER MR. HEALEY ASKED THE FOLLOWING QUESTION:

"WHILE STRONGLY WELCOMING THE RIGHT HON. GENTLEMAN'S REASSERTION THAT ISRAEL MUST ENJOY EQUAL SECURITY AFTER A SETTLEMENT TO THAT WHICH SHE ENJOYS TODAY, MAY I ASK WHETHER HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT SUPPORT BILATERAL INIT-IATIVES TO REACH SETTLEMENTS OF AT LEAST PART OF THE PROBLEM SUCH AS, I ASSUME, WERE ENVISAGED BY THE RECENT MEETING OF THE ISRAEL I DEPUTY-PRIME MINISTER WITH KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN?"

REPLIED:

"'I DO NOT KNOW THAT IT IS FOR HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT TO SUPPORT SUCH APPROACHES AS HAVE BEEN REPORTED TO
HAVE BEEN MADE BY ISRAEL. I THINK THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER
IF WE WAIT TO SEE WHAT COMES OUT OF SUCH CONVERSATIONS
BEFORE HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT EXPRESS A VIEW."

3. GRATEFUL FOR YOUR ASSESSMENT OF WHETHER THERE IS ANY SUBSTANCE IN THE REPORTS AND FOR ANY OTHER COMMENTS YOU MAY HAVE.

DOUGLAS-HOME

FILES:

N.E.D.
NEWS D.
P.S. TO MR. GODBER
SIR P. ADAMS
SIR W. LUCE

CONFIDENTIAL

The confidential

Private Secretary

C.C. - Mr. Tickell

NET 3/408/1.

I attach notes on:

NES 1/4 (a) Israel/Jordan;
(b) Syria; and
(c) the new cabinet in the U.A.R.

for the Secretary of State to use in Cabinet on 19 November.

(R. M. Evans)

Near Eastern Department 18 November, 1970

CABINET

MIDDLE EAST

19 November, 1970

Speaking NNEs

Israel/Jordan

Press reports have alleged that one or more meetings have recently taken place in Israel between King Hussein and Mr. Allon (Deputy Prime Minister). I have asked H.M. Ambassadors at Tel Aviv and Amman for their assessment of whether there is any substance in the reports.

2. The reports are almost certainly examerated. Nevertheless, the Israelis have recently indicated that they have been thinking in terms of separate talks with the Jordanians. The Jordanians have frequently expressed their desire for real procress towards a settlement. The possibility that meetings have taken place cannot therefore be ruled out.

Syria

- Hafez Assad, carried out a bloodless coup d'etat. Atassi, the Head of State until then, and prominent members of the left-wing faction of the ruling Ba'ath party have since been exiled. The latest report is that Ahmed Al Khatib (an almost unknown Trade Union leader) has been ampointed Head of State with Assad as his Prime Minister.
- 4. The new regime is not likely to be markedly different from its predecessor in either its internal or external policies. It may work towards making Syria less isolated in the Arab world,

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but it is unlikely to change either her stance on the Arab/Israel dispute or her attitude of hostility towards the West (we have not had diplomatic relations with Syria since June 1967).

UAR Government Changes

The local press has forecast Government changes in the UAR, but there has not yet been an official announcement.

Changes of the kind forecast would represent some devolution of power from the Presidency to the Cabinet and the Prime Einster's preference for leaving detail to others. The main change (although the system has been tried before) would be the appointment of four deputy Prime Ministers (all former Ministers), each with responsibility for co-ordination of the policy of a number of Ministries. Mahmoud Riad would become Deputy Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs. Two ministries (Planning and the Treasury) would come under the Frime Minister. One other change of note would be the departure of two of the three secret policemen from the Presidency, where they were Masser's main instruments of control over the Government.

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CYPHER CAT/A
IMMEDIATE AMMAN
TELEGRAM NO 917
CONFIDENTIAL.
STG94CZ

TO F.C.O.
23 NOVEMBER 1979

NEJ 3/546

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELEGRAM NO 917 DATED 20 NOVEMBER 1970 REPEATED FOR INFORMATION PRIORITY TO TEL AVIV WASHINGTON PARIS MOSCOW UKMIS NEW YORK BEIRUT AND CAIRO.

YOUR TEL NO 536: [TO THE AVIV] HUSULIN/ALLON HABBING(6)

VERY LIKELY BETWEEN ZAID RIFAL AND ISRAELI REPRESENTATIVES

(MY LETTER 4/2 OF 13 NOVERBER TO EVANS IS RELEVANT), BUT I HAVE
NO SOUND EVIDENCE OF KING HUSSELN'S RECENT PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT.

2. AS THE RESULT OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN PRINCE HASSAN AND A MEMBER OF MY STAFF WHO BAISED THE SUBJECT WITH HIM ON 19 NOVEMBER WE HAVE PEEN GIVEN AN INFORMED ASSUPANCE THAT THE KING HIMSELF WILL TELL US NORE WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. PRINCE HASSAN WAS HOWEVER CUITE NON-COMMITTAL.

FCO PASS PRIORITY TO WASHINGTON PARIS AND NEW YORK

MR. PHILLIPS

REPLATED AS REQUESTED]

NED
NAME DEPT
POSTO NO SCEEDER
SIR PADAMS
SIR W LUCE

CONFIDENTIAL

THEFT

PRIORITY AMMAN
TELEGRAM NO 927

SECRET - GUARD
TO F.C.O.
23 NOVEMBER 1970_

SECRET 231015Z CUARD.

ADDRESSED TO FOO TELEGRAM NO 927 DATED 23 MOVEMBER 1970, REPEATED TO FOR LIFED AND CAIRO.

MY TEL NO 917:

HUSSEIN/ALLON MEETINGS.

A MEMBER OF MY STAFF HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO RAISE THIS QUESTION WITH THE KING DURING AN AUDIENCE ON 22 NOVEMBER. THE FORMER BROACHED THE SUBJECT BY SAYING THAT WE WERE AUXIOUS TO ESTABLISH WHETHER THE REPORT OF THE MEETINGS, WHICH APPARENTLY ORIGINATED IN ISLAEL, MIGHT NOT PAVE REFU INSPIRED BY MRS HILL'S SUPPORTERS AS A MEANS OF OUTFLANNING SCHE INITIATIVE BY MOSTE DAYAN AND OTHERS.

- THE KING AFTER A MCMENTS THOUGHT SAID THAT AS WE WOULD KNOW HE HAD FOR A LONG TIME HAD SECRET CONTACTS WITH THE ISRAELIS.
 THIS WAS IMPORTANT FOR TWO REASONS.
 FIRST IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO LIMIT THE EXTENT OF CLASHES THAT TOOK PLACE ALONG THE CEASE FIRE LINE.
 SECOND IT WAS IMPORTANT REGULARLY TO CHECK FOR ANY SIGNS OF A LESS INFLEXIBLE ATTITUDE ON THE ISRAELI PART TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT.
- 3. FROM THIS I THINK WE CAN INFER THAT THERE WAS INDEED SOME BASIS FOR REPORTS OF A MEETING.
 KING HUSSEIN IS NOT GIVEN TO TELLING DIRECT LIES AND THIS OBLIQUE ANSWER IS PROBABLY AS MUCH AS WE CAN EXPECT TO GET.

 FCO PASS ROUTINE TO WASHINGTON PARIS AND UKMIS NEW YORK

MR. PHILLIPS

· [REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

NILES
N.EAST. DEPT.
NEWS DEPT.
P.S. TO MR. GODBER
SIR P.ADAMS
SIR W.LUCE

SECRET - GUARD

Received this maning for J. Endusty.

My Makins or.

Mr Evens 12.E. 2//

Mr Makins or.

Jordan Embassy

6 Upper Phillimore Gardens
London 78 7HB

Press Release.

Certain reports have been circulating in the Eritish Press and Television about alleged meetings which took place between His Majesty King Hussein and some Israeli officials. The Embassy would like to deny categorically these reports which are completely unfounded and no more than mere fabrications.

The Embassy of Jordan also wishes to deny other allegations which appeared in a recent book, regarding a request for foreign intervention in Jordan, which His Majesty is said to have made to the governments of the Western Powers through their Embassies in Amman. The Embassy would like to stress the fact that the only request that His Majesty did make during the recent conflict in Jordan last September, was to the Dig Four Powers - the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and France - and it was to request them to co-operate fully to prevent any foreign intervention in Jordan.

November 17, 1970

Middle East: A Secret Rendezvous

DUSK had just descended on the flat lonely Arava wilderness north of Elath men the two convoys of cars approacl a each other at a border point where Israel and Jordan meet. Prear ranged signals were flashed, and the convoy from Jordan sped into Israel. Some of the Jordanians joined the Israeli convoy, which moved to a secluded spot For 90 minutes, Jordan's King Hussein and Israel's Deputy Premier Yigal Allon carried on an undisturbed conversation in an air-conditioned car. Israeli security men maintained a lookout, and Israeli army units near by went on the alert, without being told why

The meeting was the latest of ten or so that have been held since September 1968, when Hussein met Allon and Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban in London. The King has conferred at least once during that period with Israel's Premier Golda Meir,

Stronger Throne. During the parley, Hussein and Allon conversed in Arabic and English. The opening topic was peace. In the past few weeks, Israel has held a cursory discussion with United Nations Mediator Gunnar Jarring, Allon asked the King whether Jordan might be interested in carrying on peace talks with Israel, either through Jarring or directly. Hussein acknowledged that conditions have changed since the death of Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, and that his throne is stronger as a result of Jordan's civil war. But he held that the time was not ripe for unilateral discussions. Even so, one result of the border meeting is that broader negotiations with representatives of other Arab states can be expected to follow

l'urning to the question of the guerrillas, the two leaders agreed that the fedayeen were a nuisance to both countries and that coordination was necessary to neutralize them. The Kine received promises of Israeli help

Hussein and Allon also agreed to expand economic relations. At the same time, however, Hussein protested that Mrs. Meir was undercutting him by observing during her latest U.S. visit that Palestinian statehood was only a question of redrawing Jordan's boundaries. The King was prepared to grant Palestinian autonomy of a sort, he said but under his rule, and not as the nucleus of an independent Palestinian state.

Seeking the Mantle. On that note of amiability the meeting ended. Both sides kept the discussion secret, but Israel was particularly sensitive. Mrs. Meir's government has publicly insisted that it will not talk with the U.N.'s Jarring until Egypt removes its newly emplaced Soviet-built missiles from the Suez Canal Zone. Israel's Cabinet was startled. therefore, when an opposition member said in the Knesset last week that he had heard about the Hussein-Allon talks and demanded to know why Israel's parliament had not been briefed on them His question was crased from parliamentary records, and censors refused to let newsmen report it

There was speculation that the question had been planted by supporters of Defense Minister Moshe Dayan. With key Labor Party elections set for mid-December, Dayan is locked in an increasingly bitter battle with Allon, Eban and Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir, the party's kingmaker, over who should be designated heir apparent to Mrs. Meir, 72. Dayan wants the mantle; so does Allon, an Oxford-educated Kibbutznik who was a military hero (in the 1948 War of Independence) before he shifted from the army to politics.



ISRAELI HOST ALLON



JORDANIAN VISITOR HUSSEIN

Amiable exchange in an air-conditioned car.



Cross words over the Premier's phone

NEZ3/MOZ/ To make himself more acceptable to party moderates and to demonstrate independence. Dayan is striving to change his hawkish image. In recent months, for example, he has proposed that both Israel and Egypt pull back 13 miles from their Suez Canal fortifications so that the canal can be reopened. Two weeks ago, at a Labor Party meeting in Haifa, Dayan also suggested that Israel reopen the Jarring talks in earnest. To end the Arab conflict, he said, "we must plunge into some very cold water, because we are not interested in continuing the war."

Furious, Mrs. Meir telephoned Dayan and reminded him that her government was still publicly opposed to talks because of Egyptian and Soviet missile movements near Suez, and that the U.S. was increasing its arms shipments to Israel to counterbalance those movements. In fact, both the U.S. and Israel have quietly decided that "rectification," or rollback, of the missiles is a dead issue. Even so, when Dayan told Golda that he had been misquoted, the Premier hung up on him.

After that conversation, articles critical of Dayan began to appear in major Israeli newspapers last week. They were almost certainly inspired by anti-Dayan leaders of the Labor Party. Dayan's enemies are not all congregated in the Labor hierarchy. Earlier, the magazine Ha'olam Hazeh (This World) had pub lished a highly suspicious story claiming to document an attempt to recruit the Defense Minister into the CIA in 1959, when he was a private citizen. The magazine reproduced a letter, purported to be from the Pentagon to a U.S. milstary attaché in Tel Aviv, which ordered him to arrange Dayan's enlistment with the local CIA station chief. In the same issue of Ha'olam Hazeli was another story, which took laudatory note of Allon's "heavy work schedule."

application in 1963, setting back the rest of Europe's then bright dreams of

eventual political federation.

Despite his conservative attitude toward the concept of Europe, De Gaulle pursued venturesome policies elsewhere. In 1964, France became the first Western power since the Korean War to extend recognition to Peking. He became the first Western statesman who actively sought to build ties with the East Bloc and to overcome the rigidities of the cold war. He proposed a gradual easing of tension by a process he described as détente, entente, coopération. He recognized the Oder-Neisse line as Poland's western border and urged Bonn to do the same. He also urged international acceptance of East Germany.

The basic outlines of Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik were traced several years earlier by De Gaulle. In the Middle East, De Gaulle dropped his support of Israel following the 1967 war. Then, after reprimanding the Jews as an "elite, domineering people," he made overtures to the Arabs that were intended, his apologists maintain, to retain Western influence in an area that had only Russia as an alternative.

Always, De Gaulle deported himself according to the stern precepts of leadership he laid down in 1934 in a small book called The Edge of the Sword. "Nothing demonstrates authority better than silence." he wrote. "There can be no prestige without mystery, for we have little reverence for that which we know too well." De Gaulle rarely granted private press interviews and seldom appeared in public. At his press conferences, held about every six months, 1,000 or so journalists would sit on frail gilded chairs in an ornate reception hall in the Elysée as De Gaulle answered the questions that suited him

and invariably passed over the others. His bulky form made him a tempting target for assassination, and the diehard Secret Army Organization, which despised him for giving up Algeria, was gunning for him. In all, there were at least ten plots and two actual attempts to kill him. Once, on a road near Paris, his black presidential Citroën was riddled with bullets. But De Gaulle and his wife remained sitting erect in the back seat, refusing even to duck. After all, he once wrote: "Adversity attracts the man of character . . . He seeks out the bitter joy of responsibility."

If De Gaulle's speech was stately and oracular in public, it was often earthy in conversations with friends. Like Lenin, he seems to have com-

mented on everything and everybody. On John F. Kennedy: "[a President] with the style of a hairdresser's assistant—he combed his way through problems." On Jackie Kennedy, after John Kennedy's death: "She'll end up on an oilman's yacht." On Harry Truman: "a merchant." On Richard Nixon, 1963 "This man has a great future in store for him."

When De Gaulle was out of power, he liked to describe the continual shifts of Ministers in the Fourth Republic's Cabinets by saying, "Chose, machin, chouette [thingamabob, thingamajig, whosit] are being replaced by chouette, machin, chose." He often referred to members of the National Assembly as pisse froid of pisse vinaigre. In private,

DE GAULLE & WIFE AT DAUGHTER'S GRAVE (1969)
Restoration of pride.

he often called France "vacharde"—inert or uninspired. The fact was that France offered De Gaulle too limited a scope and power base. Try as he might, he could not change the basic reality that France simply lacked the specific gravity to offset the force of a superpower.

De Gaulle's narrow victory in the 1965 presidential election should have warned him that his popularity was not boundless. He shrugged off the growing disorders in early spring of 1968 to fly off for a chat with Rumania's Nicolae Ceauşescu. While he was being feted in Bucharest, much of France crupted in chaos, as students battled police and striking workers seized plants. Shaken, De Gaulle returned and, after making

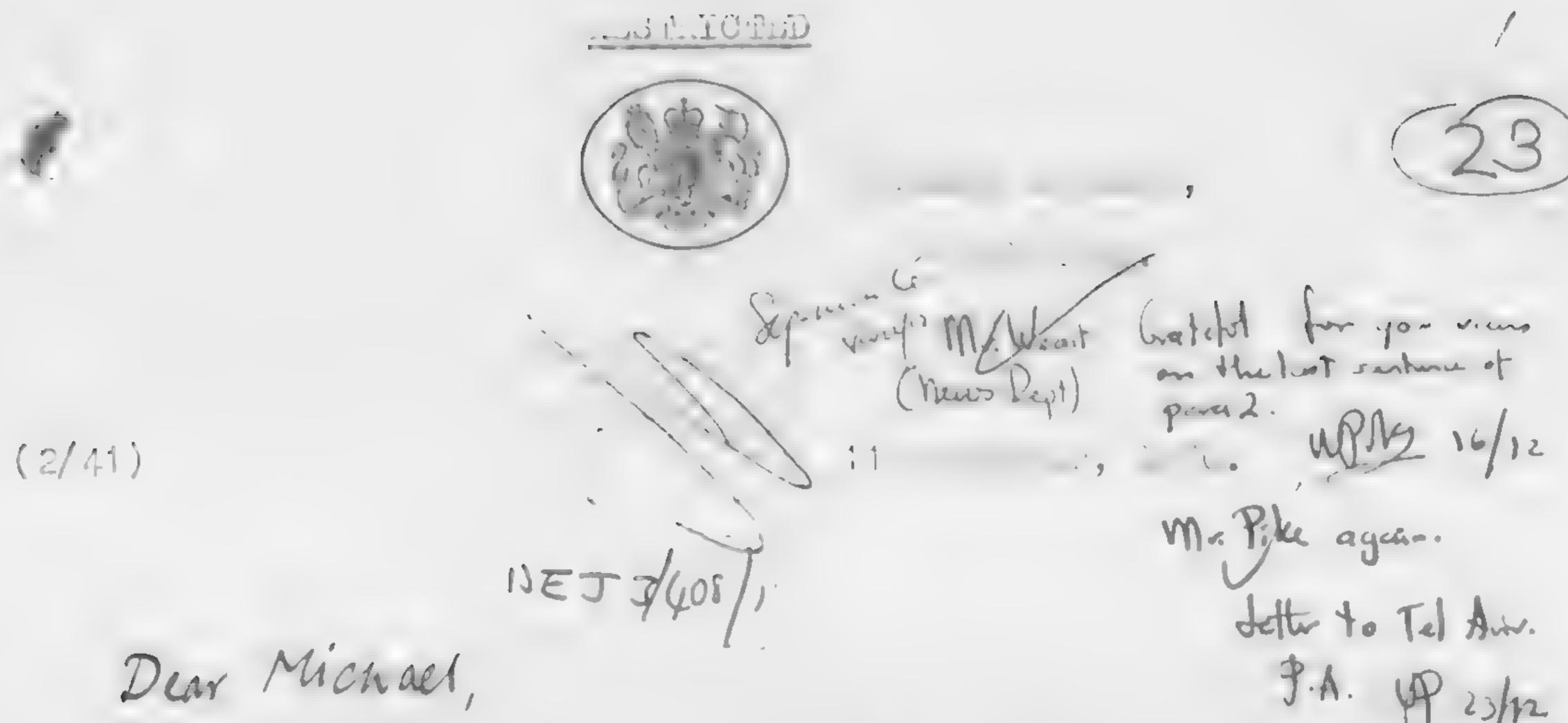
certain of the army's support, finally ralled his country. After a ringing speech ("I shall not withdraw, I have a mandate from the people,"), a million Frenchmen marched down the Champs-Elysées in support of De Gauller, "

to turn a referendum on the establishment of regional governments (a relatively popular issue) and the downgrading of the Senate (an unpopular one) into a vote of confidence on his presidency. As the returns showed that the trend was running irreversibly against him, De Gaulle sent a two-sentence message to Paris from Colombey: "I am ceasing to exercise my functions as President of the Republic. This decision takes effect at noon today."

Though the dimensions of De Gaulle's place in French history are already evident, years must pass before a conclusion can be reached on such questions as whether Europe was actually better served by keeping Britain out in the cold a while longer. Harvard Political Scientist Stanley Hoffmann, for one, believes that if utopian federalists had managed to achieve some sort of European unity ten or 15 years ago, it would have been "a merger of confused peoples not knowing what they were doing. The kind of Western Europe that is emerging now is a very pragmatic Europe, cooperating step by step in areas where they are indeed highly interdependent. This is what De Gaulle had in mind." But others point out that De Gaulle's "no" killed a certain spirit, born of the war and the Communist takeovers in Eastern Europe, that provided a supranational impulse toward rapid federation.

Whatever the historical judgment on his leadership, De Gaulle demonstrated the importance of those great intangibles in the calculus of

power-moral force, will, style, vision. To many men, these are only words; they were realities to De Gaulle, realities that the world often distrusts and yet yearns for more than ever today. These qualities, as much as any specific accomplishments, will make his figure endure, just as the memory of another great—and even more controversial—Frenchman has survived through the years. As a young man, Charles de Gaulle composed a tribute to Napoleon Bonaparte that could serve as his own epitaph: "In spite of the time that has gone by, of opposing sentiments and new subjects for mourning, crowds from every part of the world render homage to his memory and near his grave abandon themselves to a shiver of grandeur."



in yesterday's La'arets from its london correspondent. As you will see it suggests that there has been a change in La's policy at the expense of Hing Hussein and with implications for Anglo-Israel relations.

2. The author of the article, Aleph Shem, is not very sympathetic to us at the best of times and we would hope that the story will not be taken too seriously here. -ut in view of hr. Aban's visit next week, we thought that you should know about it. We should also be interested to know if News Department have any line on the matter.

(ser in ing Aussein's talks in Bondon, but assume that you will be sending us something.

Yours over, News M.

(II. J. -- andel)

1.. H. Pike, Esq.,

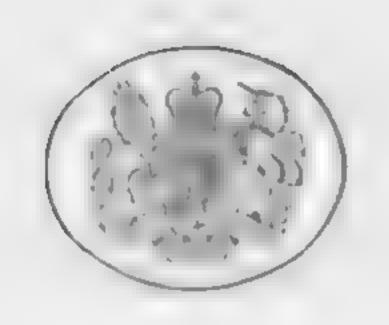
Hear Hastern Department,

Foreign and Commonwealth Office,

London, S.W.1.

copied to: Chanceries at

Amman Cairo Tripoli



la anulation

Hataretz (10 December)

"Meath is Cold to Imssein"

"The Furture belongs to his

(From Aleph Shom the dalaretz courespondent in Drittain).

"London 9 December (special to Ha'aretz). It is reckoned here that Hing Hussein's visit to Britain was a political dailure, but this for reasons which will perhaps not please Israel.

"Hussein's political objective was to regain his olitical credibility which has suffered badly from events in Jordan in September, especially in the press and among official dritish circles which almost wrote hussein off as a political force without a future. Hussein's attempts to convince the British Prime Limister, hr. Heath, and whitehall that he has re-established himself did not succeed at all. whitehall hept a straight face.

tendency to rely more on radical forces / in the Arab world /, in the belief that they have a greater future and from the Dritish desire to reduce areas of friction with Aussia. The personal influence on Er. Heath of Er. haitland (previously Dritish Ambassador in Libya and a supporter of the new regire there) is felt in this development.

The belief of going round Whitehall is that the Egyptian power plus Libyan and Tragi oil are much greater in importance than traditional British debts, such as British support for the royal regime in Jordan, the fruit of an original British creation.

"One can empect this development to have implications for Anglo/Israel relations."

RESTRICTED Reference NET 3/408/1

P.A. P.A. P.3/12

dr. Alenh Shem

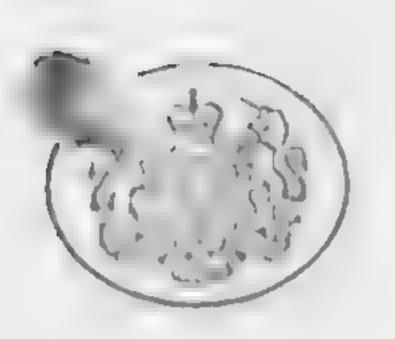
I am afraid I do not know ir. Shem. He does not keep in touch with Hews Department; if he did, his reports might (with luck) more closely approximate to the facts.

2. As you are aware, we try within the limits of the public interest to keep correspondents informed of developments in our thinking on foreign policy matters. As far as the hiddle East is concerned, this does include the assertion that we wish to maintain and develop friendly relations with the "revolutionary" as well as the traditionally governed Arab states. (This has, as you know, been a cardinal point of our policy for many years.) But for hr. Shem to suggest that, because of that, we have decided to write off King Hursein is a travesty. If he does contact me, I shall do all I can to put him right.

Alle Weart.

J. G. B. Weait News Dept. 22 December 1970





NEJ 3/408/1

Near Lastern Department,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London S.W.1

23 December, 1970

20/12

"Feath is Cold to !hassein" (2)

Thank you for your letter (2/41) and enclosure of il December about the article in <u>Naturetz</u> by its London correspondent suggesting that H.T.G.'s policy has recently changed at the extense of King Kussein.

- 2. We have consulted Name Department on this. They do not know Mr. Show and have not yet taken any action in relation to his article (which is of course a travesty of the real position). They are however endeavouring to get in touch with him and will do their best to put him right.
- 3. You will, by now, have received the Record of Conversation between King Hussein and the Prime Minister on 4 December.

(". I. Fike)

H. J. Mandel Paj., H. Embassy, TelAviv.

copy to: Chancery at Amman.

(26)

PRIORITY TEL AVIV
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1147

COMMIDENMIAL

TO FOREIGH AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

31 DECEMBER 1976

CONFIDENTIAL 311500Z

ADDRESSED FCO TEL NO 1147 OF 31/12 RPTD FOR INFO TO ATTAL.
BELRUT, CAIRO AND WASHINGTON.

AMMAN TELEGRAM NO 1006:

I SRAEL/JORDAN.

OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE FAIRLY RELAXED AND CONSCIOUS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF NOT EMBARRASSING THE JORDANIAN COVERNMENT. MILITARY ATTACHE, WHEN HE MELTIONED IN I BELT SHEAR INCIDENT TO THE MINISTRY OF PEFENCE YESTERDAY, WAS TOLD THAT THIS WAS REGARDED AS AN ISOLATED OCCURRENCE AND THE ISPAELIS DID NOT SEEM TO BE TAKING IT TOO SERIOUSLY.

- 2. AS YOU KNOW THERE HAVE BEEN PERSISTENT REPORTS LATELY
 THAT THE ISRAELIS AND JORDANN AND ARE IN TOUCH WITH EACH OTHER.
- APART FROM THE REPORTS A MONTH OR SO AGO WHICH KING HUSSEIN VIRTUALLY CONFIRMED (AMMAN TELEGRAM NO 927), WE HAVE FEARD PRIVATELY THAT THE ISRAEL DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER IS OUT OF THE COUNTRY, REPORTEDLY ON HOLIDAY, AND I CONDER IF THEFE IS ALY CONNECTION WITH THE PRESS REPORT THAT KING HUSSEIN HAS BEEN IN A CLINIC IN LONDON. A CLINIC THERE IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN THE COVER FOR AN EARLIER MEETING WITH ALLON. THE PRESS PEPE IS ALSO SPECULATING THAT GENERAL DAYAR MAY HAVE TIT THE KING IN A 'MESTERN COUNTRY'' DURING A RECENT REPORTED ABSENCE FROM THE COUNTRY.
- TSMAELIS ARE UNLIKELY TO BE PLANNING ANYTHING WHICH COULD MAKE THINGS MORE DIFFICULT WITH JORDAN. IF YOU FEEL IT NECESSARY TO SAY ANYTHING TO THE ISRAEL EMBASSY, YOU MAY WANT TO CO BO FURTHER THAN TO EMPHASISE OUR HOPE THAT RECENT OF COURACING DEVELOPMENTS OVER THE JARRING TALKS VILL CONTINUE TO MAKE UNIFPEDED PROGRESS.

 (5. AS

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- 2 -

5. AS SEEN FROM HERE IT WOULD BE BETTER, HOWEVER, TO SAY NOTHING, ESPECIALLY WHEN ANYTHING WE MAY SAY MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS COMPONING FEDAYEEN ACTION. THIS IS ESPECIALLY THE CASE WHEN THE FEDAYEEN HAVE NOT HELPED MATTERS BY CLAIMING CREDIT FOR BLOWING UP THE ISRAEL MESS HALL SOUTH OF THE DEAD SEA YESTERDAY, WHEN A ROCK FALL KILLED TWENTY SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS.

F.C.O. PLEASE PASS WASHINGTON.

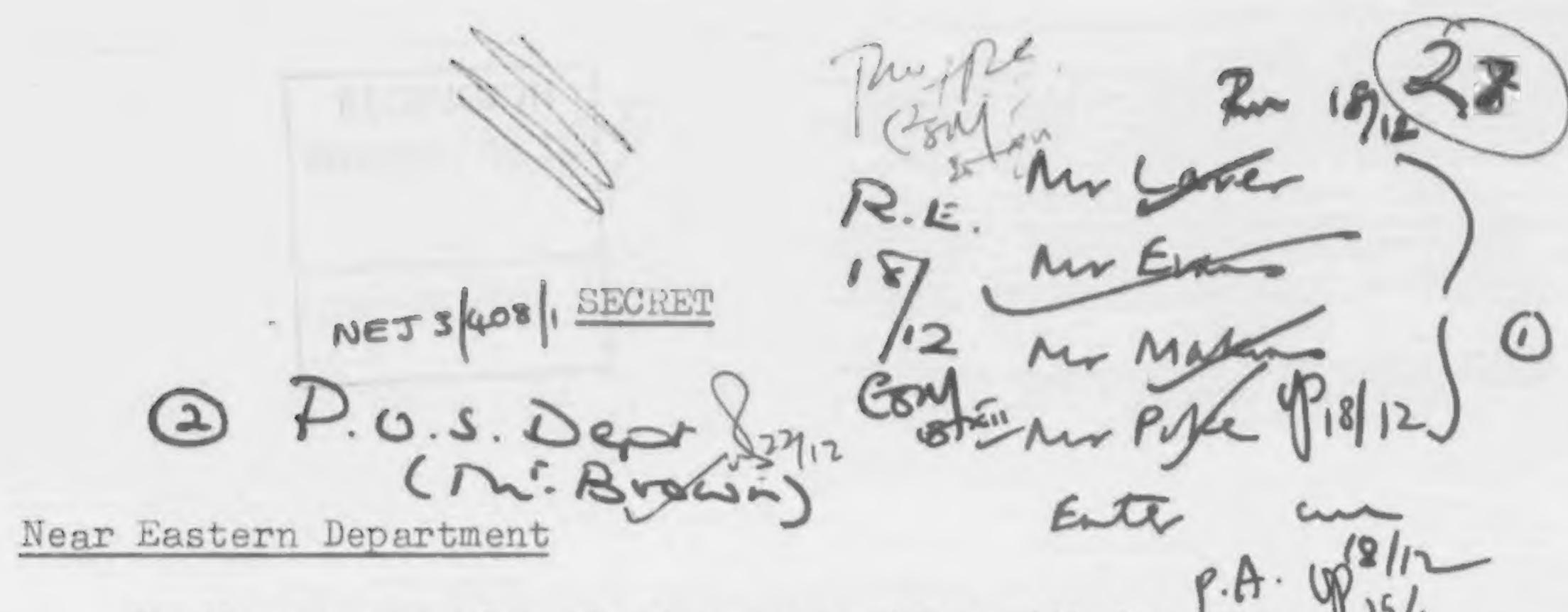
[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

MR. BARNES

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In the course of a short conversation with Mr. Eban '77)
over a sandwich lunch at Chatham House, the name Zaid Rifai
came up. Mr. Eban said at once that he knew him fairly well,
having seen him at a number of "the meetings which never took
place". He found him intelligent and interesting, but he had
always rather wished that King Hussein would bring with him
some more political character. The only other person whom
King Hussein had once brought with him was "his uncle" which I
took to mean Sharif Nasser, for Mr. Eban said that he assumed that
he had been brought along because he owned the boat involved in
the meeting which appeared clearly to be used for hashish
smuggling.

2. I did not get the opportunity to pursue this line of conversation but it offers interesting corroboratory evidence of Israeli/Jordanian meetings and/that at least one of them took place, as we thought, at sea in the Gulf of Aqaba.

This assumed

(Philip Adams)
18 December, 1970.

CYPHER CAT/A
PRIORITY AMMAN
TELEGRAM NO 1006

CONFIDENTIAL

TO F.C.O.

31 DECEMBER 1974

RECEIVED 128
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ADDRESSED TO FCO TELEGRAM NO 1006 DATED 31 DECEMBER 1970 REI

PRINCE HASSAN, NO DOUBT WITH THE ISPAELI RAID INTO LEBANON ON 28 DECEMBER IN MIND, HAS EXPRESSED TO ME HIS FEAR THAT THE ISRAELIS MAY SOON CARRY OUT ATTACKS ON JORDAN IN REPRISAL FOR FEDAYEEN ACTIONS. HE MENTIONED IN PARTICULAR THE TWO ROCKETS, AUTOMATICALLY LAUNCHED, WHICH HIT BEIT SHEAN ON 28 DECEMBER, AND ALSO SPOKE OF A POSSIBLE ATTACK (OF WHICH HE HAD RECENTLY RECEIVED ADVANCE WARNING) BY FEDAYEEN ON EILATH.

PRINCE HASSAN STRESSED THAT JORDANIAN FORCES COULD NOT FOR ALL THEIR EFFORTS ALTOGETHER PREVENT FEDAYEEN ATTACKS FROM JORDANIAN TERRITORY. THEY WERE NOW AT THE STACE OF EXTINGUISHING THE LAST SPARKS OF ORGANISED FEDAYEEN RESISTANCE IN JORDAN, AND REPRISALS BY THE ISRAELIS COULD ONLY HAMPER THESE EFFORTS AND REKINDLE SOME OF THE FORMER PUBLIC SYMPATHY FOR THE FEDAYEEN WHICH THEY WERE FAST LOSING. HE HOPED THAT WE AND THE AMERICANS WOULD DO ALL WE COULD TO URGE RESTRAINT ON THE ISRAELIS. I PROMISED TO PASS THIS ON TO YOU.

FCO PASS TO WASHINGTON

6/1

MR. PHILLIPS

LREPEATED AS REQUESTED!

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FM FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE 311700Z

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P.A. 61, P.15/1

TO PRIORITY TEL AVIV TELNO 603 OF 31 DEC INFO PRIORITY TO AMMAN WASHINGTON UKMIS NEW YORK CAIRO AND BEIRUT

AMMAN TELEGRAM NO 1006 (WHICH WE ARE NOW REPEATING TO UKMIS NEW YORK): JORDAN/ISRAEL.

IF YOU JUDGE THAT THIS WOULD BE USEFUL, PLEASE SPEAK TO THE ISRAELIS IN THE WAY SUGGESTED.

DOUGLAS-HOME

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UND PUSD NEWS DEPT (LAST PAPER)

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